FELLOWSHIP

February 1947 — Vol. XIII—No. 2

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By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

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Pacifism and the "Labor Problem"
By A. J. MUSTE

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Racism Sits in the Pews
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•

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By HAROLD EHRENSPERGER

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN a source of difficulty to pacifists that Abraham Lincoln, our sainted and martyred American, was not a pacifist. We feel that he is the kind of man who ought to have been a pacifist. But he encountered three wars during his lifetime—the Black Hawk War (1832), the Mexican War (1845-46), and the Civil War (1861-65)—and he supported them all. He justified this action in a public statement made in 1861, before his inauguration as president. "In a choice of evils," he said, "war may not always be the worst."

But if Lincoln was not himself a pacifist, he had the clearest understanding of the pacifist position and the deepest sympathy with it. In all the records of his life, even during wartime, there appears no denunciation of pacifism or any condemnation of pacifists. Thus, as an example, there is the famous letter to the Quakers of Rhode Island, in which he wrote, "Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of peace inculcated by the Society of Friends."

He wrote in a similar vein to the Quakers of Iowa. Of this second letter, Carl Sandburg, in his great biography of Lincoln, remarks that it was written "as though here were people whose basic thought and feeling required no correction, and as though his conscience at its roots ran with theirs."

Lincoln met the problem of the conscientious objectors, and did everything in his power to win for them just and even generous consideration. "For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds," he said, "I have done and shall do the best I could and can in my own conscience and under my oath to the law."

As Lincoln understood pacifism, so he understood war. He hated and abhorred it throughout his life, and never said a word in extenuation of its horror. In 1862, in the darkest hour of civil conflict, he made a statement for the like of which many a lesser man has been arrested and imprisoned: "When actual war comes," said Lincoln, "blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. All this may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty rebel rises up. These add crimes to confusion."

This is war! And how did Lincoln feel about participating in it? Deep agony settled upon his soul. Lines of anguish and bitter sorrow were graven indelibly on his countenance. It may be said that, after he gave the call to arms, he never knew happiness again. This was what he said about his plight in 1861—"I have read upon my knees the story of Gethsemane, where the Son of God prayed in vain that the cup of bitterness might pass from him. I am in the Garden of Gethsemane now."

Lincoln's attitude toward the South was another index of his soul. Thus, he never blamed the South for the war, nor, in the assessment of guilt, ever made any marked distinction between South and North. So dreadful was the character of the war that he was forced to believe, in a profound religious sense, that God's high purposes were in some way involved in it. In his familiar letter to Mrs. Gurney, referring to the failure of all his efforts to end the struggle, he wrote, "We must believe that God permits it for some wise purpose of his own, mysterious and unknown to us."

But if responsibility thus lay with God, then it must be that South as well as North was innocent of any final guilt. Or rather, the other way around, that South and North stood together convicted of sin which could only be absolved in a mutual experience of suffering and death! Both sides were sharing the common punishment of a common offense. This was the burden of the great Second Inaugural Address. "The Almighty hath his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses . . . and to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses which . . . God now wills to remove, and that he gives *to both North and South* this terrible war, as the woe due to *those by whom the offense came,* shall we discern any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God ascribe to him?"

Both sides were guilty! While the war still raged, and feeling ran high, Lincoln found the war a "woe due to those by whom offense came," and therewith called "both North and South" to repentance.

As Lincoln passed no judgment upon the South, so he felt no hatred and sought no vengeance against the enemy. The Civil War was followed, as we know, by an orgy of revenge and lust. The South was taken over as a conquered country, occupied by hostile troops, partitioned into military districts, and plundered as though by a host of invaders from barbaric times. But this was after Lincoln died. He would have permitted none of these horrors. Had he lived to rule the land and persuade the people, there would have been no hatred to stalk the ash-strewn areas of a country broken by defeat and overwhelmed with grief. As a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, so would Lincoln have gathered the people of the South within his embrace, and given them comfort, courage, and new life.

He said all this, and more, in the closing words of his Second Inaugural —words as pertinent today for the world as they were when spoken in 1865 to America. Said Lincoln:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in—to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

No, Lincoln was not a pacifist. But if there were more non-pacifists of his spirit, there might be little need of pacifism.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.
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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly. Re-entered as second class matter February 15, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

20 Cents a Copy $2.00 a Year

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

February 1947 **Vol. XIII—No. 2**

Subheads

Brotherhood-of-Man Note

One hundred and ten ex-servicemen studying at Yale Divinity School on monthly allowances from the G.I. Bill of Rights contribute an average of five dollars a month each to the support of ten conscientious objectors also studying there.

Goodwill to Men

The Yule spirit was much in evidence this year. Amnesty was granted to 800,000 "little Nazis" in the American Zone in Germany, and three Americans who allegedly broadcast Nazi propaganda over the German radio during the war were released with no charges against them. Even those terrible rogues, the conscientious objectors, got a slight sprinkling of the gentle dew from heaven when President Truman, with another genuflection in the direction of the sacred American conscience, appointed a committee to "examine" their cases, to see whether they might deserve amnesty, too.

It would be easy to get caustic about a country that professes allegiance to freedom of conscience but hands out more kindly treatment to citizens who have actively aided the enemy than to those "whose only crime," as too many writers have expressed it, "was their obedience to conscience."

Actually, there is nothing inconsistent or incongruous in such an attitude. There will always be some mercenaries who join the adversary's cause when it is in the ascendant and holler for mercy when it collapses. They are no more real danger to the State than are the draft-dodgers who pretend to have ulcers or hide in the woods to escape the draft board. The real danger to the institution of the State, as its vestal virgins perceive, lies with those who assert the inescapable moral responsibility of the individual for all his own acts. Every additional delay in amnesty, every official attempt to discredit the COs and minimize their numbers, affirms more strongly the strategic as well as the moral rightness of their position.

Discrimination

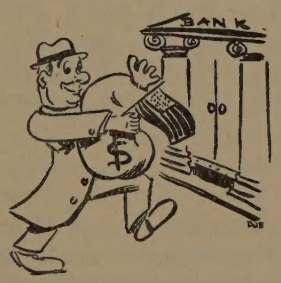
The Allied Control Council in Germany, according to an AP dispatch of December 1, struck at "the roots of German militarism" by promulgating a law "prohibiting military training and outlawing war veterans' organizations, parades, or military demonstrations . . ." To a nation afflicted with Selective Service, the American Legion, and the threat of universal military training, such actions smack of favoritism. Who won this war, anyway?

At Home with the Scientists

As a footnote to Professor Hartmann's article comes the Army's self-congratulation over the money and time it has saved by importing the best German scientists, who once kept the Nazi war machine up-to-date, to work on *our* infernal contrivances.

A Harvard scientist, on the other hand, in refusing to pass along the results of his work for use in developing guided missiles declared: "I do not expect to publish any future work of mine which may do damage in the hands of irresponsible militarists."

Confidence



A savings bank established a branch just down the street a couple of months ago, and today it announces, via a sign in the window, that it has already taken in a million dollars in deposits. Preening itself, the bank says that this shows that its customers "have confidence in us and in the American Way of Life."

By itself this would not call for much comment, but it illustrates the casual way in which people, particularly those who are doing well, thank you, identify the basis of their own prosperity with the American Way of Life. A little more thought, and a soupçon of honesty, might have suggested to the bank at least four better reasons for its million dollars:

1. Prices, thanks to certain aspects of the American Way of Life, have gone so high that many Americans are resentfully refusing to buy, and so are hanging on to their savings.

2. Some economists have suggested that the American Way of Life is going to mean Another Depression right soon, and a number of Americans are worriedly saving their money against that eventuality.

3. Bank deposits up to $5,000 are insured by the Federal Government. If *that* fails, the money wouldn't be any good anyway.

4. There are no other savings banks in the neighborhood.

Pride of Possession

An advertisement for the Scott radio describes it as "designed and built, from its tiniest thingumbob to beautiful cabinets, to excite 'pride of possession' in those who can afford the finest." We have no doubt of the accuracy of the statement, but are inclined to wonder about its wisdom, measured in larger terms than sales figures on Scott radios. It would almost seem as though the world was surfeited with pride of possessions, which always can be found lurking in the vicinity of exploitation and war.

Possessions become something of a boomerang, anyway, and the prideful possessor usually finds himself enslaved by the very thing that excites his pride. We were thinking the other day of the presumably fortunate lady who will acquire a $12,000 mink coat advertised by a Fifth Avenue shoppe, and of how she'll never be able to toss her coat casually over the back of a chair and leave it there, or be able to walk in it alone along a dark street, or leave it in an unlocked house. We own a topcoat that cost $23 six years ago, and an overcoat (referred to by the cognoscenti as "horse-blanket with lapels") presented as a sort of going-away present by one of our better penitentiaries. Neither garment is outstandingly shabby, with birds nesting in the seams and mice running in and out of the pockets, but neither inspires what the Scott advertising genius would refer to as pride of possession. Better that way, too. With a mink we'd get a permanent crick in the neck from looking over our shoulder. Possessors always have to think about aggressors.

Disarmament Notes

The United Nations Assembly, after a great deal of debate, expressed the feeling that disarmament would be very nice indeed. The Security Council is expected to agree.

Britain has dropped a bellicose second stanza of "God Save the King" (in which the Most High is earnestly requested to scatter His Britannic Majesty's enemies and to "confound their politics, frustrate their knavish tricks") in favor of a new verse asking the Lord to show nations that "men should brothers be."

President Truman has suggested the omission of the word "military" from Universal Military Training.

Semantics

A Columbia professor has announced that the American people are guilty of six different forms of hypocorism, or baby talk. (All baby talk is done by adults; children and dogs, its major targets, never touch the stuff themselves.) Its use, in most cases, said the professor, "may represent a neurotic and pathological adjustment of the individual to his surroundings."

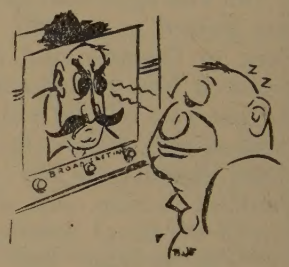
It would be interesting to have the professor's reactions to an even more prevalent form of semantic distortion, dipsodaisyism, or double-talk, several examples of which recently have come to hand.

Thus, for instance, Mr. Truman's apparent assumption that the curse of militarism is taken off military training by dropping the word "military." Or the fervent protests of the advocates of such training that their program is not conscription, because the boys are not inducted into the armed forces, though the training is compulsory and military, in military camps and under military personnel.

Another instance is a quotation credited by Associated Press to Atomic Scientist Arthur H. Compton, who said: "We who had atomic power in our hands would have been traitors to mankind if we had not built the weapons and used them with tempered blows." One wonders what a semanticist, looking at the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, would make of that "tempered blows."

Unseen Audience

The master of ceremonies of a radio program the other day whimsically ordered his listeners, mostly housewives, to "drop whatever you're doing and sit down and write me a letter." The results were mildly catastrophic on a coast-to-coast hookup, and illustrate the peculiar and intense literalism with which many radio listeners worship their gods of wires and tubes. Women wrote who had faithfully "dropped" bowls full of eggs, piles of dishes, and similar articles when the command came.



On top of that came news of a BBC experiment in hypnosis by television, in which four of six official subjects and one accidental onlooker were successfully put to sleep by a moving image on a glass screen.

The implications are alarming. The picture is one of millions of confused and desperate people, helpless before the complexities of a machine-enslaved world, holding in their hands atomic bombs and little crystal vials full of germs, staring with glazed and fascinated eyes into the impelling screen of glass, waiting for the magnetic voice to say, "Drop whatever you're doing. . . ."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The British, whose be-helmeted and be-tanked armies clank ominously over Palestinian roads, have put up posters in Tel Aviv appealing to the Jewish population to help combat terrorism. Punch line of the posters, which are written in Hebrew, is "Thou shalt not kill."

* * *

Russian scientists have discovered a method of drilling a hole twenty miles deep in two days. Alert American military men may be expected to find out soon that the hole is pointing straight at the United States, which will make another good reason for universal military training.

* * *

Harlem voters during the recent campaign received a printed letter from Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., seeking reelection. After listing with a becoming lack of modesty his accomplishments in Congress, Mr. Powell summed up his career in one masterly sentence: "I voted on every issue the way you wanted me to vote."

Free Education in America Is Menaced
By the Army and Navy, Who Want —

Colleges in Uniform

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD*

THE LATEST ARMY AND NAVY MOVE in their direct and already well-launched plan to invade our colleges and universities, is to hire for themselves the brightest of our youth by offering them free education, free uniforms, and $600 a year in cash. This is assured—in addition to the thousands of students already going into the Reserve Officers Training Corps—even if Congress refuses to vote for universal military training. Moreover, the Army is spending *one billion dollars* in this fiscal year for nuclear developments, additional atom bombs, and the subvening and domination of scientific research throughout the United States, with the Navy spending "only" $45,000,000 for this purpose. It is no exaggeration to say that almost all scientific advance in this country is today in the hands of the Army and Navy—without the country's being aware of it.

Thus our colleges face permanent governmental domination on the ground of national defense. On January 18 an examination was held by the Navy to choose the 5,000 brightest from a minimum of 30,000 high school seniors and graduates and 600 Navy and Marine Corps enlisted men, who will then be sent to 52 colleges and universities. These boys will receive the usual education, modified to include the special training courses the Navy wants them to have. They will be commanded at each university by "professors of naval science, who are captains in the regular Navy." These 5,000 young men must pledge themselves to service in the regular Navy for, according to Hanson W. Baldwin, the expert of the *New York Times*, they will constitute one-half of the 10,000 officers our peacetime Navy will require each year to maintain its officer strength.

All this in this atomic age when we are demanding of the United Nations that they agree to universal disarmament, when there is not a single navy afloat comparable to our own. The British fleet has actually put out of commission all its battleships, save a couple for training, and the only possible menace would be a Russian fleet which will be many years in building. To maintain this vast establishment and carry on its scientific work the Navy demands no less than $5,900,000,000 in the coming fiscal year, 1947-48.[1]

Unfortunately, Congress has already voted this system of sending these 5,000 young men through college at government expense. Critics of Annapolis hail this as a complete break with the domination of the Navy by the narrow-minded graduates of that institution whom so many of the temporary war officers detested while admitting their professional capability. Curiously enough, the Army first held back, but seeing the great opportunities to dominate the youth of America in this way, it has now announced that it will ask similar legislation of the new Congress. It will be surprising if it is willing to stop at 5,000; probably it will ask for at least 10,000. Just what this means has been clearly put by Dr. Francis J. Brown, executive secretary of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education and staff associate of the American Council on Education. This scheme, he said, means that the Navy will drain off and train "the top-ranking youth of our nation," and he added that the military is further increasing this drain by the expanding numbers of students and teachers it is using in military research.

He then went on to say:

> Yet no comparable plan has been devised to identify, much less subsidize, capable youth for education for leadership in our social, economic, or political life, for responsible positions in government, or for giving direction to our even more involved problems of international relations.

In addition, Dr. Brown denounced as insidious the Army's universal training plan with six months of the year spent in colleges and vocational and technical schools, saying: "It is an admission that it is not the military skills that are important, but the indoctrination of attitudes. And, even more, it enlists the cooperation of established educational institutions in the indoctrination of the inevitableness of war—that armed might is the only basis of world organization." With our campuses flooded by the six-months universal training men, plus the special students of the Navy (and perhaps the Army) and the domination of research by the armed services, is it too much to say that our colleges are being turned over to the Army and Navy?

Cost Will Be Enormous

That the cost of all this will be enormous goes without saying, but the last Congress continued with Rooseveltian recklessness to ladle out money without the slightest regard as to how the bills are to be met. One of the worst features of the plan is that it increases the huge number of people now on the government payroll — more and more Americans are coming to look to the government for direct subsidies or permanent jobs, or for old age pensions and security allowances. Believer as I am in the necessity of social security and pensions, I cannot but dread the effect upon our youth of so much government support towards education for life.

If any of these students do not choose a career in the regular Navy or Marine Corps they must retain their reserve commissions for at least six years after first receiving their commissions as ensigns, but will not be required to serve further except in a national emergency. In other words, the student who takes the Navy's dollars will be

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* Former Editor of *The Nation* and the New York *Post;* veteran pacifist and expert on military affairs; FOR member.

[1] Mr. Truman's January 10 budget message to Congress asked for $4,423,000,000 for the Navy, and noted that the Navy had asked for $6,400,000,000.—*Ed.*

bound to it for a period of ten years. He must take two summer naval courses and one summer period of aviation indoctrination, each lasting from six to eight weeks. He will not have to wear a uniform except when engaged in drills or other naval activity, but he must take twenty-four semester hours, or the equivalent, in naval science. These midshipmen will be subject to naval discipline only when in uniform, except that they will be held up to "the requirements of gentlemanly conduct at all times." On graduating the young officer will have to serve on active duty for from fifteen months to two years before his six years in the reserve begin.

Mr. Baldwin calls this "a hopeful and interesting experiment in military education and a great and non-political opportunity for the youngsters eager to learn." It may well be asked, when the military camel is thus well within the collegiate tent, how much there will be left of civilian education and how free it will be. This question becomes the more pressing in view of the enormous sums being spent by Army and Navy for scientific research. Thus, the Army is spending $7,000,000 on the campus of the University of Chicago alone this year! Much of the Army's billion dollars is going to private industrial laboratories as well as to those of the colleges, so that it is but the truth to say that scientific advance and research within the United States are now dominated by the Army and Navy although the war is over and we are supposedly in the piping times of peace. The Navy alone has over one hundred contracts with university and industrial research laboratories throughout the country. It is "the largest coordinated, basic research program in the country" in the Navy's opinion.

It is true that the scientists are given four freedoms: to initiate new projects as they suggest themselves, to explore new avenues, to publish the findings of their work, and to teach. Nonetheless, the influence of the government is there and is causing great anxiety among scientists. For example, Prof. Philip Morrison, one of the physicists who contributed to the making of the atom bomb, asserts that to the rest of the world American science is now appearing "as the armorer of a new and more frightful war."

Navy Budget Called Grotesque

Even the *Chicago Tribune,* which has looked so favorably upon all military developments, has come to the point of protesting against the way the Navy is reaching out. Editorially it says, "The Navy asks too much" when it applies for an allowance of $5,900,000,000 for the fiscal year 1947-48. It stresses the fact that the Navy is thus asking $100,000,000 more than the entire cost of all the houses, apartments, office buildings, factories, schools, and all other buildings that were erected in 1925, one of our greatest construction boom years. Commenting on the Navy's excuse that it needs the extra money for the expansion of scientific research, the *Tribune* says that research should go on and be stepped up "but you don't spend billions in this way." It calls this proposed Navy budget "grotesque," and shows that in the sixteen years before 1939 the Navy never cost more than one-tenth as much as is now proposed. During that time, it says, "the American Navy was charged with being ready to fight any or all of the four great navies of the world—those of Japan, Germany, Italy, and Britain. Three of those navies no longer exist and the other is too weak to cause us any concern." The *Tribune,* to its credit be it said, believes that the Navy budget could be perfectly well cut in half.

Two things stand out clearly in this whole picture. The first is that the power now exercised by the Army and the Navy to control the annual budget and to insist upon privileges and rights and powers never before granted to the military must be laid at Franklin Roosevelt's door. Contrary to all historic policy, he turned over the conduct of the last war to the Army and Navy with absolutely unlimited powers of expenditure and aggrandizement. Congress stupidly assented lest it be charged with hampering the rapid conclusion of the war. The prolongation of hostilities until January 1 of this year and the continuance even now of the state of war has emboldened both services to demand more and more, since they have been given carte blanche ever since 1940. The Army and Navy, and not civilians, are demanding the retention of 200,000 troops in Germany, completely wrecked as it is, and with its people starving, "lest the Germans rise against us," and 100,000 men in the friendly Philippines, presumably as a military safeguard in the event of a Russian attack. The power to decide such questions should be taken away from them, but they have become so firmly entrenched that they are even demanding the right to sit in with the Cabinet or be part of a sub-Cabinet to help formulate national policies, and at this moment they are gravely interfering with State Department policies in South America.

Building the Military Mind

The other point is the old one that what the Army is really about is getting control of the minds of our youth. President Truman stated that clearly when he announced that he had appointed a commission to advise him as to the form that universal military training should take—a most unfair commission since almost every one, if not all, of its appointees is known to favor some form of universal service. The President said: "I want our young people to be informed on what this government is, what it stands for—its responsibilities. And I think the best way to do this is through a universal training program. I don't like to think of it as a universal military training program. I want it to be a universal training program, giving our young people a background in the *disciplinary approach* to getting along with one another, informing them of their physical make-up and what it means to take care of this temple which God gave us." (Italics mine.) The disciplinary approach! That is what the Army wants —indoctrination by military men, imbued with the narrowest, nationalistic ideals, always teaching that war is inevitable. As Dr. Brown said, the indoctrination of attitudes is the Army's greatest goal.

It is now bent on having its own way and the use of unlimited money, and is going about it with complete disregard of our national policies. It is even bitterly opposed to President Truman's words quoted above, for it wants military training pure and simple. The Secretary of War, forgetting the UN and our own moves for universal disarmament, is demanding a regular army of 1,750,000 men which he says will cost a mere $8,400,000,000 a year. He used the stale, shopworn militarist argument that this same amount we spent during the war in twenty-four days of fighting, and therefore we should not hesitate to spend it now to prevent hostilities. The atom bomb he, like

(*Continued on Page* 31)

Is Labor Too Powerful? Should Its Right to Strike Be Curbed? What Can a Pacifist Do?

Pacifism and the "Labor Problem"

By A. J. MUSTE*

THE ATTEMPT TO APPLY PACIFIST INSIGHTS and principles to the present turbulent "labor situation" must begin with a warning to guard against the fallacy suggested by the hoary "man-bites-dog" definition of news. Years of constructive service to the community may leave a church unnoticed by the local press, but let the minister leave his wife and run away with the soprano soloist and the news will be spread all over the front page. Similarly, it is the union that goes on strike, or the strike in which violence occurs, or the case of bad union-management relations, that makes the headlines, though all of these are the exception rather than the rule.

The labor editor of a New York daily points out that of 50,000 labor-management wage disputes in 1946, 45,000 were settled without strikes. Another article reveals that many of the biggest concerns in the country have been untroubled by work stoppages, including Revere Copper and Brass with 11,000 employees in eight plants from New Bedford to Chicago; the 40,000 employees in Radio Corporation of America; Standard Oil of New Jersey, International Business Machines, General Aniline and Film Corporation, and Johnson and Johnson. All but one of these, I.B.M., are virtually completely organized by unions.

It is true that in 1946 nearly ten times as many man-hours were lost by strikes as in a so-called normal year, and that is not a joke, especially when coal and shipping are involved, and when people in Europe are freezing and starving. But when people get frightfully wrought up about that they forget—and newspapers prejudiced in favor of the sensational do not remind them—that even so only two hours out of every one hundred that might have been worked were lost; or that in the depression of the 'thirties ten times as many hours were lost annually by labor through unemployment.

The Role of War

Pacifists certainly should not be the ones to forget the role of war itself in producing or intensifying social unrest. Labor-management strife on a large scale follows every major war. War does not solve a nation's social or economic problems, but only suppresses them. For that very reason they break forth with increased intensity after the war's end.

During the few years of the war this nation managed to put something like three hundred billion dollars into war production and activity while still providing the masses of its people with a higher standard of living than they ever had before. What kind of reaction should we expect from workers—and what bearing is it likely to have on efforts to abolish war—if peace actually means a lowering of that standard? Surely when war production is greatly reduced, we should be able to produce other things in greater abundance both for our own people and for others! God's judgment certainly will visit us if we do not.

Reference to war will serve to remind the pacifist to avoid also resort to the scapegoat technique, or supposing that in these complicated social situations it is possible and profitable to pick out the "aggressor." It has become popular to pin that label on the workers, the unions, and the labor leaders, since they are the ones who strike—who "won't work"!

But few employers carry on businesses in which they cannot make satisfactory profits, and why is it any different for a worker dissatisfied with his wages to stay at home? When in the early days of the war the government tried to limit profits on war work to eight per cent, many companies refused to take Army and Navy orders. Some of those who demand most loudly now that workers be forced to work for pay and under conditions they don't like were loudest then in insisting that to force employers to turn out war products on terms that did not suit them would be Bolshevism and dictatorship.

Danger to Democracy

The history of the years following World War I has underscored the very special danger of making a scapegoat of the labor movement. A favorite and spectacularly successful fascist technique has been to drive a deep wedge between labor and other groups, fixing in people's minds the stereotype of labor as unpatriotic or subversive or "Red," and then to destroy the organizations of labor. What has followed each time has been the destruction of all other free associations and institutions of democracy.

The pacifist knows that in international affairs guilt, insofar as it enters into the picture, is shared, and that repentance is becoming to all. He knows, too, the wisdom of looking for something wrong in the "system" itself, and not to put too much emphasis on the allegedly inherent devilishness of individuals or groups.

The economic system under which we live, or try to live, places a good deal of emphasis on private property, private profit, individual enterprise, competition, getting ahead in the world, "looking out for Number One." Its movies hold up the ideal of fabulous luxury before the eyes of millions every week. Its columnists write about comedians paid $20,000 *per week* in night clubs whose off-color shows would be closed if the price of admission were within the reach of the average pocketbook. Its advertisements clamor their incessant urge to "keep up with the Joneses" into the minds of multitudes out of every radio, and from every billboard and magazine page. If denunciation is necessary, let the editorial writers employ some of their eloquence on those who are responsible for these things rather than upon striking workers!

I am not making an attack on capitalists, bankers and businessmen. The poison is in all of us. I am well aware that I have not given the whole picture of our economic life. There is too much of God in human beings for them to practice their evil philosophies consistently. If what

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I have described were all of our economic life, everything would have fallen apart long ago and nobody would be here to write and read about it. Selfishness and evil cannot hold anything together. In spite of them, life goes on because God cannot be banished from the earth and because his spirit will not let us go. So there is also industriousness and honesty and intelligence and cooperation in all sections of our society. Nevertheless, there is also selfishness and greed and bitterness and strife, and the result as the new year begins is frustration and fear and suffering in our economic life.

A Pacifist Labor Program

It is basic in our pacifist approach to life that the means enter organically into and determine the end and that, therefore, whatever may be a necessary or desirable or ideal way of organizing our economic life, we need the spirit of objectivity and reconciliation if we are to get from where we are to any tolerable or desired haven. So the question arises: What would it mean to apply that spirit to the "labor situation"? I venture a few suggestions:

1. Actions taken hastily, in hysterical anger and under the spell of fear, are not likely to promote reconciliation. It seems, therefore, that Congress ought to give itself a "cooling-off period" instead of rushing into labor legislation in the early weeks of the new session. Some Congressmen seem bent on punishing labor for the strikes of 1946. The real problem is how to prevent crippling strikes in 1947. It will pay Congressmen to give careful thought to that delicate question and to be in a gentle and sober mood when they try to frame the answer.

2. As pacifists, we shall not have much faith in such negative measures as efforts to suppress or coerce. It is as fatally easy in dealing with economic groups as with children or nations to "get tough" and resort to some kind of violence. But when men do, they are turning their attention away from the true cause of the trouble and so they go on to more and more violence while the root evil is aggravated instead of removed. That goes for legislation to suppress or weaken unions and to make men work under terms that seem unsatisfactory to them. This rules out compulsory arbitration or any revival of the old arbitrary resort to injunctions in strikes. A government that tries to regiment miners or machinists will presently try to regiment farmers, businessmen and bankers.

The resort to violence boomerangs, and that goes for unions, too. It may not apply in every single instance, but I have known it to happen repeatedly that if a union resorts to violence against non-members its own internal affairs presently are run on the basis of violence: the strong-arm men whom it hires to deal with "scabs" become the henchmen of the "machine" that runs the unions.

3. As pacifists we have faith in conciliation rather than in coercion and violence. We would suggest, therefore, that representatives of management, labor, government and the public—consumers, churches, civic groups—meet to seek a solution of the problem rather than a victory over somebody.

In a recent report of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee of the U. S. Conciliation Service, union and management representatives unanimously recommended mediation and voluntary arbitration, the process of conciliation to begin before things come to a crisis. In Philadelphia there has been a "labor-management-government assembly" for that region. That sounds promising.

A few years ago in connection with its Preaching Missions the Federal Council of Churches helped to establish in a number of cities machinery for continuous consultation among representatives of management, labor, churches, and the public. That seemed a good idea, too.

Parenthetically, I must emphasize the importance of "the public" interesting itself continuously in labor conditions. Ordinarily, it is utterly unconcerned until some major crisis arises. God has so arranged it that "the public" reaps the harvest of its indifference in what is humorously described as "serious inconvenience."

These pacifist exhortations to keep cool and to try conciliation may sound namby-pamby. Some people are sure to point an accusing finger and say: "Yes, but what are you going to do if John L. Lewis ties up industry and transportation again? Doesn't the government either have to put its foot down or abdicate? Musn't there be a LAW against some kinds of STRIKES?"

"Something tells me this is the right time to negotiate for 65 cents an hour."

—Richter, from CIO-PAC

I even have a sneaking suspicion that some pacifists have entertained some such idea. I can only say that I think we ought to stick to our pacifist guns no matter how persuasive the arguments that the other kind is more efficient. Repressive legislation may develop as it is. Certainly it will if another wave of strikes materializes this winter or spring, as it may, even though I doubt whether a single important labor leader wants this.

So "government" will refuse to "abdicate" and men will be forbidden to strike against it and a lot of people will sleep more soundly and feel that at last everything is under control again. It will not be so at all and that will be very sad for the Republic. No matter how you twist and turn it, when a man is forced by law to stay on a job he is no longer free but a slave. If he revolts, you call out the Army and try "to weave wool with machine guns," as I

heard a Lawrence textile worker put it twenty-seven years ago, or "to dig coal with bayonets." It is even possible to dig a little coal for a little while with bayonets, but that is fascism and not democracy, and it will mean regimentation of business, agriculture, schools, churches, everything. It will not mean that government has asserted itself but that government has "abdicated," because it has lost its reason and its faith in reason and has degenerated into Brute Force. We must stick to pacifism, trust men, and not yield to the temptation to end war by war.

The Nature of Reconciliation

4. Now reconciliation does not mean having people get together and smile at each other and pretend that there isn't any problem after all. Sometimes that may be a harmless social diversion; sometimes it is contemptible and very dangerous hypocrisy. But it is not reconciliation.

Reconciliation results from facing the truth, not evading it. This is also close to the essence of democracy: discussion on the basis of free communication and access to the facts. Therefore it seems to me that if unions are to deal intelligently and responsibly in wage negotiations they need to have access to the books of the companies with which they are dealing, and to the facts on which price and profits policies are based. If the "public" is to have an opinion on the validity of wage demands, then it would seem that responsible agents of that "public" must also have access to the crucial facts. A business whose essential operations are hidden from responsible representatives of labor and of the people ought not to lay claim to recognition as a legitimate undertaking. No problem is capable of solution when access to important factors in their solution is barred.

It is, of course, equally important that the operations of unions be open and above board and that their internal life be democratically conducted. Unions have been subject to much unjust criticism in this respect, but there are too many unions with precious little democracy and some where there is gross dishonesty. Labor will do well to clean its own house where it needs it. The democratization of the internal life of unions is probably also the most effective way to do away with senseless and wasteful jurisdictional disputes.

In the end I am convinced that we must depend on the members of groups—whether management or labor or any other—to develop a democratic internal life for themselves. If laws are projected at all with respect to these matters, as for example laws providing for government supervision of union elections, it is certainly imperative that they apply equally to all groups.

Distribution the Crucial Problem

5. Finally, the crucial problem in this country today is not production, but distribution. 'Sharing' would be a good word for it if that had not been sentimentalized and debased by misuse.

It is, of course, true that wages like profits have to come out of production and it may be, as apparently a number of labor leaders have come to feel, that another effort to raise wages in the face of the alarming increase in living costs and with millions of people with approximately stationary incomes shut out of the market, would simply give the inflationary spiral another push upward. But the doctrine that an increase in wages inevitably means higher prices is a fallacy when it is not a form of deceit. Between 1919 and the spring of 1946 the average hourly earnings of factory workers in this country more than doubled, profits trebled, and prices remained roughly the same. In every generation since the Civil War the productive capacity of our industrial plants has doubled. Certainly in the age of atomic energy that rate is not going to be lowered.

The question of what material standard is conducive to spiritual health must of course be faced by every individual. The accumulation of things on an endlessly rising curve is a base and irrational ideal for a nation or civilization. But the masses even in the United States are not yet oversupplied with the things that go to make up the material foundations of the good life. Under present circumstances both economic and social considerations dictate the necessity of a wide distribution of purchasing power among the masses.

As Middleton Murry suggested a couple of years ago, we have to learn to "give away" goods in an effective and socially useful way, because if we do not, we shall find ourselves "shooting away" billions upon billions of dollars worth of goods in huge wars in an effort to escape from the dilemma created by the huge capacity of our productive machinery and our antiquated method of distributing purchasing power.

Resistance to Production

There is a resistance—often probably quite unconscious—to the logic of production under a highly developed technology. The logic is to bring prices down drastically: to make all essential goods and services universally available at low cost or to pay workers an annual salary as we do preachers, engineers, bankers and corporation executives. The resistance arises, I think, from the realization that if goods were thus freely available and the masses were economically secure, they would also be free, and confident in their freedom. That would mean the end of special privilege and of entrenched power, whether economic or political. Those who hold power and privilege perhaps dread that more than loss of income. The form taken by the resistance to the logic of super-production is the effort to make profit on a restricted output—to maintain a "scarcity economy"—instead of on a greater volume of production. Both from the economic and from the humane standpoint this resistance to the solution of widespread distribution is our crucial problem.

Perhaps it might be solved if management, labor, and consumers alike could have their sights raised from a concentration on profits, wages and prices to such goals as adequate housing for all Americans; provision at public expense of all the educational facilities which American children and youth are mentally equipped to use; the best medical, surgical and dental service made available to all; exchange of students and professors with other countries; and expenditures for the relief of the sick and starving all over the world and the economic rehabilitation of war-stricken lands on some such scale as we spent for destructive purposes during the war. In war and for war we could do things like that. We now have to learn to do them in peace and for peace.

White Christian Churches Look the Other Way When

Racism Sits in the Pews

By GEORGE M. HOUSER*

RACIAL SEGREGATION is an evil anywhere, but when it is found in the churches, it is particularly vicious. We never realize how serious an evil is until we see it in close proximity to a moral good. Because the Church claims to be an instrument for the establishment of human brotherhood, the evil of racism appears all the more contradictory in its pews. Buell Gallagher has pointed out most vigorously in recent books and articles that racial segregation so contradicts the message and genius of the Christian church, that the effective continuance of the Church depends upon its ridding itself of every trace of racism. In an article in the *Christian Century,* Gallagher said: "If conscience does not erase the color line within the Christian churches, there will be no conscience left in their membership. Christianity and caste are irreconcilable."

The facts bear out the statement attributed to the well-known sociologist, Charles S. Johnson, now president of Fisk University, that "the Church is the most segregated institution in America." An unpublished doctor's thesis by Frank S. Loescher contains a most complete set of facts on segregation in the Church. This exhaustive study reveals that only one-half of one percent of the Negro Protestants in the United States worship regularly with white Christians. There are approximately 6,500,000 Negro Protestants in America, and ninety percent of them belong to strictly Negro denominations, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.), Colored Methodist Episcopal (C.M.E.), A.M.E. Zion, and the National Baptist Convention. The other half million Negroes are members of predominantly white denominations, within which they are segregated in their own churches. Thus, in the Methodist Church, which has the largest Negro constituency of all the white denominations, the Negro congregations are segregated into a separate unit, the Central Jurisdiction. Ninety-two percent of the Congregational churches are completely white in membership. Loescher points out that it is primarily in churches in small communities where there may be only three or four Negro families (not enough to set up a separate local church) that Negroes belong to the same church as white people.

Segregation in Church Institutions

Not only do the churches themselves practice segregation, but the church-related institutions are inexcusably guilty. In a recent issue of the Social Questions Bulletin of the Methodist Federation for Social Service an incident is related of a Negro woman in Washington, D. C., who in the middle of winter gave birth to a baby on the sidewalk in front of a Methodist hospital, because she could not be admitted. A recent study of orphanages (many of them church-supported) in Cleveland revealed that Negro children were accepted in none, with the exception of one terribly overcrowded all-Negro and one Catholic institution. The church-related colleges are as guilty as other schools of having a strict quota system limiting the entrance of Jews and Negroes.

Because of the conflict between the ideals and the practices of Christian churches, liberal white people and Negroes inevitably grow cynical about the Church. The September, 1944, Bulletin of the NAACP quotes a vestryman of the Episcopal Church, a Negro, as saying that the "enemy is the majority of the Christian churches in America." The statement of this Episcopalian continues: "Now I say to you that if our white church is really sincere in its application of Christianity, it would say that the time is always ripe to advocate the abolition of segregation; the time is always ripe to advocate the elimination of jimcrowism. . . . And yet, with few exceptions, I never hear the Church lift its voice."

Race Issue Confronts Churches

The issue of racism now confronts the churches in America in a way it has not since abolitionist days. In resolutions, in speeches, in literature, the demand of the Scripture is presented: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). A statement issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at a special session in Columbus, Ohio, March, 1946, reveals by its uncompromising note the seriousness of the charge against the churches for their practice of segregation. The statement says that the churches give "moral sanction" to the pattern of racial segregation by their own example. Therefore "the Church must choose." And the choice must be one, the statement says, of renouncing "the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood."

The intensity of the struggle within the Church is revealed in the bitterness of the debate in the recent conference of the North Carolina state convention of Southern Baptists. Early in the conference a resolution was passed condemning segregation in the Church. But toward the end of the conference the matter was brought up for reconsideration, and the former action rescinded after long and heated debate.

What the Church does about the race question is news. When last fall in Knoxville, Tennessee, the Presbyterians celebrated an anniversary of a Negro Presbyterian Church in a service where there was no segregation, the event received wide publicity. Likewise a joint meeting of white and Negro Baptists in Atlanta a short time ago made significant news across the country. The action of the General Council of the Congregational Church at its meeting in Grinnell, Iowa, initiating a campaign to end the "sin of caste" within itself, and setting up a special commission with full-time personnel to implement this decision, was hailed widely.

In spite of high-sounding and uncompromising resolutions which may be passed by church conferences, however,

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there are two obvious and almost impregnable obstacles standing in the way of making existing churches interracial. The first obstacle lies in the prejudiced attitude of the average white church member. I have had many discussions with white ministers who have said: "I would like to have Negro and Oriental persons as members of my church, but they just won't come. The church is open to them." The reason that Negroes and often persons of other minority races do not attend predominantly white churches was given by Will W. Alexander in his speech to the Federal Council of Churches special session in Columbus: "There may be no rules against such membership, but there is something more powerful—the attitude of the people who make up the churches."

I live next to a church located in an interracial community. The congregation should be representative of the cultural groups in the community. But it is "lily-white." Occasionally a Negro attends the Sunday service, but he is socially ignored in the hand-shaking after the service, and stared at disapprovingly. Since such a great part of the Protestant church service is a social experience, it is the very rare Negro who will come back again.

In the South the attitude expressed by Senator Bilbo holds sway to a great extent: "The white man is the custodian of the gospel of Jesus Christ." After a picture of some delegates to a Methodist Youth Conference in North Carolina appeared in the *Christian Advocate,* with one Negro youth included, an anonymous letter appeared in the next issue of the magazine. This letter, after pointing out that several persons were dropping their subscriptions because of the picture, said: ". . . When the day comes that they (Negroes) are let into my local church to worship, either he, or she, or they, or I will be looking up another denomination that doesn't do this."

Society Is Segregated

The second obstacle to interracial churches lies in the fact that all of society is segregated, and particularly that society is segregated into residential areas by race. It is almost impossible to have interracial churches when communities are not interracial. Thus segregation in the Church can not be combatted simply by passing resolutions in church bodies, or by engaging in an educational process of changing attitudes. An essential part of the campaign to end segregation in the Church must be to strengthen the moves against social segregation as expressed in restrictive housing covenants and in jimcrowism in jobs, in schools, in hospitals, in public places. Church people who are committed to a truly representative Church must attack segregation not only in the Church, but also in secular organizations and wherever it is found in society.

The average local church, even with a liberal minister, finds it almost impossible to be an active agent against the evil of racism. Most churches can not become interracial in membership because of the dominant attitude of their present membership. Most churches can not be instruments in the community for resisting such evils as restrictive covenants, for their members include home owners who think they are safeguarding property values through refusing to rent or sell to Negroes. Many local churches even have restrictive covenants on property which they own.

But there is a move for organizing definitely interracial churches; that is the hope and a sign of the future. The beginning of the move in this direction came with the establishment of Interracial Fellowship groups in a number of cities. One of the chief activities of these Fellowships is a monthly Sunday afternoon church service with several hundred Negro, white, and Oriental persons attending. Today these Fellowships exist in such cities as Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis, and Columbus. More recently interracial churches with a regular membership, a week-day program, and services each Sunday, have been established. Perhaps the best known of these is the Fellowship Church of All Peoples, in San Francisco, whose co-ministers are Howard Thurman and Alfred Fisk. This church, in addition to its Sunday morning service, has a going Sunday school program and a forum discussion, and sponsors a summer intercultural workshop for children. All of these activities are interracial.

In Berkeley, California, a Congregational church which in 1943 was a dying white church in a racially mixed community, received a new lease on life when it became interracial. The Congregational Conference had decided to make it a Negro church, but the young minister whom they chose to be its pastor refused to accept the charge unless the church could be interracial. So two theological students, one white and one Negro, at the Pacific School of Religion, became co-pastors. The attendance on Sunday morning has grown from a low of about thirty to an average attendance now of 250. A full-time director of a Community Center leads an active and interracial week-day program.

The Detroit Council of Churches, in July, 1945, took the leadership in establishing a Church of All Peoples. After a year of existence this church took on a full-time minister. The Detroit church carries on a city-wide program rather than a neighborhood program. Services of worship, with ministers representing all races, are held on Sunday afternoon rather than at the morning hour. This makes it possible for persons who belong to other churches to attend the interracial church in the afternoon and be active in the choir, the educational activities, and the action events during the week.

Los Angeles and Cleveland are two more cities where a Church of All Peoples has been organized. In all these churches the race issue is not stressed unduly. It is assumed that the true Church should be representative of all racial groups. The full gospel is preached. Because these churches are interracial, they represent what the whole Church ought to be. But more than this, they can be active agents in their communities for racial justice. When in a public amusement park in Cleveland last fall a wave of violence sponsored by private police and the park management broke out against Negroes, the Church of All Peoples was one of the agencies in the community most active in seeing that the park policy was changed.

This kind of church combines two essentials of the true Christian organization—it is a fellowship across racial, national, and class lines on the one hand; and it is an active agent for social justice in the community on the other. This is the pattern of organization and fellowship which must expand rapidly if the Church is to save itself from the sin of racism.

The Veteran and the Peace Movement

By EDGAR L. JONES*

THE PACIFIST has a natural interest in veterans, because he rightly supposes that the peace movement should find some recruits among the millions of men who learned about war at first hand. One would expect to find at least a million combat veterans with an overwhelming interest in permanent peace, plus several million other men with an equal interest in forestalling any further attempts to uproot them and subject them to military regimentation. Such, however, is not the case—not at the moment anyway. The average veteran has shown no evidence of an eagerness to embrace the pacifist's faith, even though two years ago he assured his nearest buddy that "they'll have to drag me out of a cave with a bulldozer before they ever get me on a deal like this one again."

The average veteran is so tired of war that he is not willing to work for peace.

I would say that ninety-five per cent of the men who went to war are now so tired of it that they do not want to read about it, see movies about it, or talk about it, except to reminisce occasionally about "that girl in Lyons" over a glass of beer at the Legion hall. With good-paying jobs scarce, adequate housing next to impossible to obtain, and the cost of living gone sky-high, the average veteran has too many current complaints to maintain his former gripes about Army life. He has not forgotten the war altogether, but his soldiering days seem long ago and not nearly as disagreeable as formerly. He always said that the talk about four freedoms and democracy for the world was a lot of propaganda, so any resemblance between the world of 1939 and the postwar world neither surprises him nor disturbs him particularly. The wartime cynicism of most servicemen warded off any disillusionment about the peace, and it also left us with a nation of men who have no great faith in anything except the certainty that there is no help for those who do not look after their own interests.

Lost to the Peace Movement

Perhaps I set the percentage too high, but it seems to me that the large majority of our former fighting men are lost to the peace movement for the time being. If the threat of another war becomes so pronounced in the next few years that the men of World War II are liable to be called up again, the veteran probably will become vocal once more. If his own welfare is not threatened by the scare headlines, however, the average ex-GI Joe will not be too concerned about international accusations and diatribes, which he brushes aside as "just talk," until it appears likely that his own sons may have to go through the same sort of things that he went through. With the life and career of his own boys endangered, I feel sure that many veterans will suddenly recall all the bad aspects of military life, and few of the good ones.

The only other power on earth that might be strong enough to get the veterans en masse into the peace movement would be a campaign which seemed so positive and right to them that they would join in the complete assurance that the promised goals would be achieved. When I say a "positive" campaign, I mean a program that is much more than a denial of the moral and economic justifications for war. When I say "right," I mean a program that can stand up under the full light of a veteran's own wartime observations. The FOR is working on such a program, but no one of us should expect overwhelming results. The tools of pacifism are faith, love, and the freedom of the individual conscience, the very things which most veterans feel no longer count for much in the world.

"Rights" Were Meaningless

If the war proved anything to the men who did the fighting, it was the fact that the rights and opinions of the individuals concerned were of no consequence. They fought whether they wanted to or not; they killed whether they hated the enemy or not; they "volunteered" for suicide missions whether they were willing or not. It was drummed into them from the first draft call that their souls were not their own. They felt very strongly that the whole mess was concerned with issues far beyond them and that their personal opposition to going to war made not the slightest difference to anyone, not even—eventually—to themselves. The little people of the world, as far as they could see, were forced periodically to kill each other for reasons far beyond their control or understanding.

Having been put in a position where faith, love, and the freedom of the individual conscience seemed like weapons of less consequence than broom straws against mechanized, impersonal, unemotionalized and often unseen opposing forces, the average veteran cannot, in my opinion, see any practical grounds for the pacifist's convictions. The power of non-violence is beyond his understanding, having seen a tank in action. War, he says, is much too big a thing for you and me to stop. He would like to feel the way the pacifists do, and have their faith, but the war showed him plainly that the average citizen does not count for a bean in times of crisis. The big boys on top, he may add, are already brewing up a fresh crisis, and what can you and I do to stop them?

This attitude is very familiar to pacifists, and I mention it only to dispel the notion that veterans are any different from most people in their attitudes toward war. Nevertheless, even if ninety-five per cent of the veterans are lost to the peace movement, there remains that small minority of veterans who are not content to feel that the war is over and done with. I say that they represent five per cent of the veterans and that may be putting it too high. Whatever the percentage, they are the men who did not stop thinking while the war was on and who will not stop thinking now about the peace. They want the things

* Veteran of North Africa, Sicily and the Pacific; author of *"I'm an Ill-Adjusted Veteran"* and numerous articles; FOR member. This is the second of two articles on the veteran by Mr. Jones.

for which they were forced to fight: social and economic security for all peoples, the four freedoms, the end of international exploitation of defenseless people, and the outlawing of wars.

Because these men do not know how to bring about the peace they want, they are potential workers in the pacifist movement. They consist primarily of two groups of veterans. The first group is composed of those men who opposed America's participation in the European war and clung to what might be called a college-bred set of antiwar convictions until the attack on Pearl Harbor, which swept them into the camp of the militarists. The war made them appreciate more than ever before that a clash of arms furnishes no solutions to international disagreements, and they do not want this country to be tricked into another suicidal military adventure. They now realize that military preparedness is no defense against becoming involved in a war and that the average citizen must constantly oppose the desires of our military-minded minority.

Those Who Fought for Ideals

The second group consists of men who were reluctant to go to war, but who really felt at first that they were taking part in a fight against fascism and not just another war to preserve the status quo. By this I do not mean that they believed more than a fraction of the propaganda which was fed to them, but I do think that they believed that some lasting good would come out of a military victory over Germany and Japan. They were sure that Hitlerism had to be stopped, that the world would benefit from a victory of democratic forces, and that the people of this globe, given a second chance, would not again make the mistakes of 1919-1939. They had much the same idealistic attitude toward the war as that of the late President Roosevelt, and they are now bitter about the way the Old Guard has taken their victory and turned it into an age-old pattern of power politics, armed truces, name-calling, secrecy, and meaningless paper agreements.

Taken collectively, these two groups make up the main force of veterans who want to do something constructive about the peace. They have seen the war, and they know that there must be some other way to settle disputes between nations. They feel both cheated and guilty—cheated, because they were promised a new and peaceful world and received only an old and wrangling one; guilty, because they killed thousands upon thousands of their fellow human beings in the name of human freedom and have been given a peace which makes them out to be no better than the selfish defenders of capitalistic enterprise. They will not willingly settle for the world as it is today. They are thoroughly disturbed by the belligerent aspects of our foreign policy, by the continued influence of our military leaders in such public matters as the stockpiling of atomic bombs, and by the feverish outpourings of the warmongering segments of our press, radio, and periodicals.

These men are as confused as anyone else who tries to think clearly in the midst of so many bewildering reports and celebrated opinions. They may be found in the ranks of such progressive organizations as the American Veterans Committee, the Americans United for World Government, Inc., the Friends of Democracy, the National Citizens PAC, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a number of other groups of like caliber. A great many of them belong to no organization whatsoever, because they are too busy at this point to want to be joiners, but they do take time to write letters in support of the Baruch Plan or the loan to Britain and against conscription or the stockpiling of bombs.

Prospects for Peace Movement

I would say that these men represent the most likely prospects for a genuine peace movement. Right now they are heart and soul for world government and exhibit the usual disbelief of an ex-serviceman that brotherly love is any match for cold and calculating military might. But as they see that the leaders of the world have no intentions of giving up national sovereignty and their military machines, I believe that the thinking veteran will gradually realize that he and his kind throughout the world have no defense against war except a flat refusal to support the aims of the militant minority. He may already be thinking in terms of pacifism, because many veterans feel the need to make an individual and personal stand against militarism, and the pacifist's creed fulfills such a need.

Because I feel so strongly that there are these many veterans who would be interested in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, if they knew such an organization existed, I urge all FOR members to talk with the progressive, liberal-minded veterans in their communities. I would not suggest rushing up to every man who wears a discharge button and asking him to sign a membership card, but I do believe that all of us can find one or two veterans who have a deep desire to see permanent peace on this earth. A few hours of conversation should be sufficient to reveal how far such men have gone in their thinking, and all that remains to do is to point out that the only positive and satisfactory stand which fits all situations is the pacifist stand. It sounds simple, and in some cases it may prove to be as easy as it sounds, because I know that many distressed ex-fighting men are desperately searching for some way to voice their opposition to war.

Perhaps only one per cent of all our former fighting men are in a mood to listen to pacifists, but a mere one per cent means 150,000 potential members of the FOR, and that should be incentive enough for all of us to hunt out this dormant manpower. These men, together with their parents, wives, and children, represent new and much needed strength for the pacifist movement, and they need us just as much as we need them. As the scientists are wont to remind us, the atomic bomb makes it unwise to put anything off until tomorrow.

WRITERS—ARTISTS—PLAYWRIGHTS

Is there a radio script-writer in the FOR house? A good one, who would be willing to donate some time to preparing pacifist scripts? Are there cartoonists to give a cartoon a month—or two months—to the cause?

FOR hopes to expand its educational outreach to non-pacifists, but without spending a lot of money it hasn't got. It would help in making plans to know what we can count on. Will you drop us a line?

Gandhi Tries It Again

By Air Mail to FELLOWSHIP *from Lucknow, India*

By HAROLD EHRENSPERGER*

Karpara, India, Jan. 12 (UP)—Mohandas K. Gandhi, barefoot, with blistered and bandaged toes, walked through this East Bengal village this morning along a flower-strewn path, on the sixth day of his trek to restore harmony between Hindus and Moslems. He has walked barefoot for three days because of the blisters.

Gandhi stopped frequently to inspect the ruined houses in this village where, last October, 42 persons were killed in Hindu-Moslem fighting and 102 houses were burned. Many of both faiths were forced under torture to change their religion.

His arrival at Lamchar village coincided with the discovery of 11 beheaded bodies in a water tank in a betel-nut grove, victims of the October riots. Gandhi viewed the bodies and held a prayer meeting.

A LITTLE OLD MAN has started to walk from village to village in East Bengal in India. His legs are no longer as steady as they used to be, and when he walks he requires the aid of one or two people as insurance against falling. He is thin as only an Indian can be; his beagle eyes and his protruding nose and receding chin, his ill-fitting glasses and his bald head, make him a strange yet fascinating sight. He lives in mud huts, arising before dawn for his private prayers, and existing on what many people would call a starvation diet. Yet this little old man has so stirred the soul of a people that in a riot-stricken area where hundreds have been killed, where forced conversion, rape and arson have been common, he is restoring confidence and inducing the panic-stricken villagers to return to their homes.

The little old man is Mahatma Gandhi. Alone at his own request, he is giving to the world a demonstration of what he calls Ahimsa or "love force." It is a living witness of the power of love in the world, and of the attempt to make that power work in the lives of a violent, hate-infested land torn by communal disturbances.

Gandhi's techniques are as simple as his life. He has burdened himself with as few "things" as possible. Even in his permanent ashram in Sevagram his room is an absolutely bare mud hut. Books and his spinning-wheel box are his only baggage. "The strength of the strong," he said recently at a prayer meeting in Srirampur, his headquarters in Bengal, "without God's help, has often proved useless. We must not depend on outside forces but upon inner strength which will come to all who sincerely seek it from God." This is the lesson, he pointed out, which the people who live in violence need to learn.

Not an Easy Decision

The decision to go to the pathetic section of Noakhali at this time has not been an easy one for him to make. When I saw Gandhi at his colony in New Delhi just before he left for this experiment in living, he spoke of the imminent danger of civil war in India. The riots occurring all over India were in reality, he said, civil war already.

The Constituent Assembly and the writing of a constitution are making history in India today, yet Gandhi may have to miss them even though he has given his life to seeing them through. What is happening in the riot areas, he feels, is of first importance, since if that continues it will break down all chances for a future independent India.

Moreover, says Gandhi, this is the testing time. If we believe in love as a force, if we believe in reconciliation as a reality, and if we want to test the validity of these ideas, now is the golden opportunity. All the high-flown talk of officials, all the resolutions passed by church bodies, all the long-distance concern that ends in inactivity—these are useless now. Hate and violence are loose in the country, and the only way to stop them is to live love and non-violence in the midst of the troubled areas. So Gandhi gave up his cherished dream of being at the nerve center of Indian independence and took his place in the worst center of the Bengal riots. It is a tremendous sacrifice, but it is a witness to the integrity of what he believes. The world is now seeing another man who is living his religion even at the risk of his life.

Admits Lack of Success

The outcome of this demonstration is still uncertain. When a newspaper correspondent asked Gandhi if he felt that he had failed so far in his mission, the Mahatma replied, "It is clear to me that my mere word carried very little weight. Distrust has gone too deep for exhortation." He went on to say that the report of his feeling of failure was true. "Outside circumstances have never overwhelmed me. The reason for the present darkness lies within me. I find that my Ahimsa does not seem to answer in the matter of Hindu-Muslim relations. This struck me forcibly when I came to learn of the events in Noakhali. I could do nothing through the pen or the platform. I argued that I must be on the scene of action and test the soundness of the doctrine which sustained me and made life worth living. Was it the weapon of the weak, or was it truly the weapon of the strong? I had no solution for the dispute in Noakhali, and so, setting aside all my activities, I hastened there to find where I stood. . . . I know positively that Ahimsa is a perfect instrument. If it did not answer in my hands, the imperfection was in me. My technique was at fault. I could not discover the error from a distance. I must own myself in darkness till I see the light. God only knows when it will come." At another time Gandhi said, "I shall do or die in Noakhali, and even if all Hindus go away, I shall be the solitary Hindu."

Over and over again Gandhi has said that the success of this experiment depends on man's attempt, but that ultimate success can be given only by God. His technique, as he calls it, takes him into Muslim homes where he chats with families. More and more they are coming to have confidence in him and are taking him for their

* Editor, *motive;* FOR member.

friend. They come to him, tell him their difficulties and ask for medicine and medical aid. At his prayer meetings he talks to both Hindus and Muslims.

At one of his recent prayer meetings he said that his trust in God is immovable. But he has been waging a lone and sometimes desperately hard battle against frightening odds. He is laughed at, called an old man in his dotage, and sometimes scorned by his enemies. His adherence to much in his religion seems strange and incongruous to Christians. Now in the midst of a perilous adventure he has been disarmingly honest. "There was a time when Muslims also listened," he says sadly, "but now things seem to have changed, and even among the Hindus there are not many who follow my advice. Lasting peace can come only when men, no matter to what community they belong, refuse to surrender to any fear, save only the fear of God."

While others talk, and the Western nations impose color bans on large parts of their populations, a seventy-six year old man is setting out on foot to visit villages as a living demonstration of love and reconciliation. The man is a Hindu, not a Christian. He will pass the nights wherever they come and wherever he gets shelter. He will hold his prayer meetings as always. He will take his charka (spinning-wheel box) with him, and also certain important books among which will be the Gita, the Koran, and the Bible. A narrow bedding of blankets and some handbags will supply all of his needs. He will do this while his disciple, Jawaharlal Nehru, is boasting that India is strong enough to go in for aggression, a pathetic and ill-timed statement if there ever was one. Yet aggression has been used to pull more than one country together, even though the cohesion was short-lived, and Nehru may be falling for the tactics of other nationalist leaders! Gandhi is trying love—and he is alone.

Colleges in Uniform

(*Continued from Page* 22)

nearly all the other militarists, completely brushes aside as if of no consequence. If the Army and Navy should get what they now ask, our next year's military budget alone would come to $14,300,000,000—just for killing purposes.[2] It was not until 1910 that the total annual cost of the government of the United States went above one billion dollars.

Make no mistake, the enemy is at the door. With a weak, subservient, and uncomprehending President in the White House, the military feel that this is their hour to take over, and they are pushing the fight with a skill, ingenuity, and understanding of public mentality that they have never shown before. When the war with Spain came Prof. William Graham Sumner of Yale pointed out that if we entered the war we would inevitably sink to the level of those we were attacking. We did, and within one year we were torturing, burning, destroying, killing women and children, and putting people into concentration camps. When the Second World War came, some of us declared that if we went into it we would come out completely militarized. Were we wrong?

2 Mr. Truman's message noted that the Army and Navy together asked for $15,600,000,000; he requested that Congress budget $11,587,000,000 for the two services. This amount is for "defense" purposes alone; the cost of war also appears in the budget in the figures of $7,342,000,000 for veterans' services, and $5,000,000,000 interest on the national debt.—*Ed.*

Of Crystals

WALLACE HAMILTON

FIVE YEARS AGO he had been a young man you had known. Now he was almost a myth, as hypothetical as ugly legends of Europe and war. Strange blood-smeared names were places to him, casual places that were fragments of his life. You followed his letters as you followed the tortured lines on maps in the daily papers, x's and shaded areas.

The myth was to have flesh. He was back. He would be coming soon. You sat in the room and waited.

Changed? Sure, he'd be changed, face tanned and crowsfeet at the corners of his eyes. He probably wouldn't laugh as much. You'd changed yourself.

Changed? *"War is not revolution," wise men have said. "War is only crystallization."*

You didn't believe it. The words were false. War to you was revolution and you had seen only the shadows, heard the echoes. The firm resolves, the reason, the faith, all the trappings of noble consciousness you had put against the fact of war. But each time, in a flashing glimpse, or a grope of mind's reaching—each time you pushed nearer the actuality some part of that noble consciousness was broken away and was gone. The id was in yourself. War was in the world. Trolls and harpies rode the winds. The consciousness was broken, jagged, and flint-sharp. Doubt grew like fungus in the crevasses. You had changed, and you had seen only the shadows.

He also had had noble consciousness, smooth and reasoned, five years ago. Now he had been at the vortex of the actuality. His revolution you could cast in your mind. He'd been stripped and beaten and bathed in the cauldron of the world's id. He'd gone to the ends of human suffering, and come back naked, raw, and hugely knowing. Your theory would be his actuality. Your hope would be his fact.

There were sounds on the stairs—strange sounds—clanging, thumping, rattling, rasping footfalls.

The door of the room opened and a human figure stood in the doorway. It was fully armored, helmet and breastplate, tassets, loinguards and greaves. Light gleamed sullenly on the angles of the burnished metal as on the facets of a crystal. At the girdle dangled a Roman sword and a Syrian dagger. Around the neck hung a cluster of charms and medals. Scraps of chain, old paper, and cloth clung to the armor, rustled and clanked as the figure moved.

Damned be the wise men and their filthy truths!

The mailed hand lifted the visor and the eyes behind the metal looked at you. They had crowsfeet at the corners and were keen as a hunter's eyes are keen. But the skin around the eyes was pouched with tiredness.

As the figure shook your hand with its cold gauntlet its eyes searched your face as if it were some last vague hope.

Anti-Conscription Forces Mobilize for Crucial Struggle

Opponents of peacetime conscription are girding themselves for what they hope will be their final and successful struggle to avert further militarization of the United States, when the War Department's plan for Universal Military Training comes before the Eightieth Congress. While there is no inclination to underestimate the effectiveness of the propaganda with which the militarists are deluging the country and its legislators, hopes are high that sufficient public opinion can be mobilized against the bill to defeat it.

While the new chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committees is Chan Gurney, ardent protagonist of peacetime conscription, the temper of much of the new Republican-dominated Congress seems strongly opposed. Following President Truman's "State of the Union" speech to Congress, House Speaker Joseph Martin was quoted by the New York *Post* as declaring that Congress definitely will not adopt universal military training, but will work instead for world-wide abolition of conscription.

Leaders of the anti-conscription campaign warned, however, against any complacency on the part of their forces. They pointed out that the Administration is strongly committed to UMT; that the War Department and the Army, though supposedly barred from attempts to influence legislation, have big publicity budgets and much highly paid expert propaganda help; and that the sudden development of a "state of tension" with Russia, such as has conveniently occurred at strategic times before, might stampede the public and Congress. They urged anti-conscription workers to redouble efforts in distribution of literature, letter-writing to newspapers and Congress, public meetings and debates, etc.

Sayre to Latin America

John Nevin Sayre, co-chairman of the International FOR and chairman of the American FOR International Committee, will leave February 21 for an extended trip through Latin America. Mr. Sayre's journey, principally by air, will take him through Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, Trinidad, and Puerto Rico. He will be accompanied through Mexico by Francisco Estrello, Secretary of the Mexican FOR, and through much of South America by Antonio Loureiro, Executive Secretary of the South American FOR. He will return to the United States about the end of May.

200 to Return Cards In Conscription Protest

A move to protest the continuance of conscription in peacetime by returning or destroying draft cards showed signs of snowballing as more than 200 persons signified their intention of joining the movement as this issue of FELLOWSHIP went to press. The return of cards and accompanying demonstrations have been set for February 12, and letters of suggestion and advice have gone out to all prospective participants.

The principal demonstration will occur in Washington, and as many as possible of those who plan to join are being urged to take part in it. In addition, it is hoped that local demonstrations in other communities will help to dramatize the move.

Included among those who plan to participate in the protest were several ministers, teachers, and labor leaders. Some, who had already returned their draft credentials to the President or to the Department of Justice, or who had refused to register in the first place, expressed the intention of writing their protest simultaneously with the demonstration as indication of solidarity.

Although the movement is not an FOR project, several Fellowship leaders announced their participation in it, including A. J. Muste, John Swomley, Bayard Rustin, George Houser, Emerson Schwenk, and Orval Etter. Others who have enlisted in the project include Bernard Clausen, Frank Olmstead, Paul Schilpp, Edward C. M. Richards, Theodore D. Walser, Frank McCallister, Henry W. Pinkham, Roy McCorkel, and Albert Livezey.

Bar Ban Reversed

Refusal of a subcommittee of the California Bar Examiners to permit FOR secretary (Northern California) Orval Etter to take the attorney's examination for admission to the bar was "rescinded, cancelled, and annulled" by a meeting of the full committee on December 13, after intervention in Etter's behalf by the Northern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In refusing Etter permission on October 21, the subcommittee had claimed that he had not established a good moral character, and that his activities during the war in "advocating and urging" non-cooperation with the war effort and his "present belief in such matters" were inconsistent with the oath required of the Bar members to support the Constitution.

No Christmas Amnesty; Truman Names Committee

Christmas, 1946, which many had hoped would be the date for a declaration of amnesty for COs imprisoned during World War II, instead saw only another faltering step in that direction when President Truman appointed a three-man committee to "examine" all cases and "recommend those persons it deems deserving of executive clemency."

The President, who had been under pressure from religious, labor and educational leaders and organizations to grant amnesty, appointed former Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts chairman of the committee. Other members are James F. O'Neill, Chief of Police of Manchester, N. H., and former Vice-Chairman of the American Legion's Americanization Committee; and Willis Smith, of Raleigh, N. C., former President of the American Bar Association.

In announcing the appointment, which came December 23, the President said that "Freedom of conscience is basic to our American tradition of individual liberty," and pointed out that 25,000 COs served in noncombatant capacities in the armed forces, while 12,000 had been inducted into CPS.

A further statement credited by the press to "the White House," and believed to have come from Press Secretary Charles G. Ross, said that of the 11,000 convicted violators of Selective Service, only 800 were classified as COs, and that only 25 of the 1300 still in prison were in that category.

(The Bureau of Prisons classifies Jehovah's Witnesses, several thousand of whom were in prison, separately from other COs. It should be noted, also, that classification in prison was sometimes as arbitrary and irrational as with some draft boards, and that many men went to prison because the latter refused to classify them as COs. —Ed.)

JWs Win Ministerial Claim

On the same day that the President appointed the amnesty committee, the Supreme Court cast doubt on the imprisonment of thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses and hundreds of other COs by reversing the conviction of two Witnesses. The decision, which was unanimous, declared that the men had been denied proper trials when the lower court, which had sentenced them to five years each, refused to permit them to challenge their classifications. JWs have all claimed IV-D status as ministers.

The Congregational Christian Pacifist Fellowship, affiliated with the FOR, wants to enroll Congregational Christian pacifists. Chairman is Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers; secretary, Rev. Alfred Schmalz, 18 Brookside Road, Darien, Conn.

Food Crisis Continues Acute in Germany

Contrary to what is apparently the popular notion in this country, the food crisis continues exceedingly acute in Germany and is, if anything, worse this winter than last. This is made apparent by a study of dispatches from Germany to the New York *Times* and other news agencies, and by official reports released by the Government.

In a November 17 dispatch in the *Times,* for example, Dana Adams Schmidt pointed out that "reserves of food and clothing have been used up, machinery has worn out, transport has broken down, spare parts and raw materials have been exhausted and nothing has been replenished."

Ten million persons expelled from Poland and other countries to the east have increased the crowding to a painful degree—in Kassel, says Mr. Schmidt, there are four or five persons to a room.

A gloomy picture of the food-ration situation was painted in the food and agriculture review made public by the U. S. Military Government December 29. It pointed out that even the mid-October increase in calorie ration from 1235 to 1550 in the British and American zones was more a "target" than a reality. (It will be recalled that the Minnesota "starvation" experiment, which had such dire effects on its subjects, "reduced" the daily diet to about 1800 calories.)

Meanwhile, two years after the end of the war in Europe, Allied nations continue to hold something like six million German prisoners of war as slave labor. Most of these are held by Russia, but several hundred thousand are still retained by both Britain and France. In Britain the subject has been a matter of some embarrassment to the government, with increasing pressure from church and other groups to repatriate the Germans in accordance with the Hague convention. However, the release rate is still so slow that it is estimated two years more will be required for completion.

CPS Discharges 500; No More Till June

Five hundred men were discharged from CPS camps on December 10, leaving only 205 men still in camp. These were divided as follows: 145 men under the Mennonites, 34 under the Brethren, and 26 under the government. No more discharges, except for emergencies, are scheduled until June, 1947.

Inductions under the Selective Service Act were suspended again in January, and if the Act is allowed to expire without renewal on March 31, as is expected, CPS will come to an end. Although the Army threatens to ask renewal of Selective Service, it is widely believed that it will bypass this, since its chances of getting it through Congress would be slim in any event, in favor of an all-out push for Universal Military Training. Under UMT no separate installations would be set up for COs, who would receive training in various noncombatant branches of the service, according to the War Department's plan.

Francis B. Sayre on U.N.

Francis B. Sayre, brother of IFOR co-chairman John Nevin Sayre, has been nominated by President Truman to be U. S. representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council. Mr. Sayre previously has been diplomatic advisor to UNRRA, assistant Secretary of State, and High Commissioner to the Philippines.

Jottings

New bills designated to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) and to outlaw the poll-tax and make lynching a federal offense are before the Eightieth Congress, presented in the House by Rep. Dawson (D-Ill.). The National Committee for a Permanent FEPC is discussing that bill with members of both houses, it was announced by its co-chairmen, the Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers (FOR) and A. Philip Randolph.

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The Workers Defense League observed its tenth anniversary with a special issue of its "Journal," edited by James Peck, a CO.

* * *

Nettie J. Morgan, an FOR member in Indianapolis, took up an offer by the *Reader's Digest* for half-price gift subscriptions for ex-servicemen. She sent in the name of a CO, pointing out that he had "served his country" for four years. He got the *Digest!*

* * *

New York's only interracial private hospital, Sydenham, came up against a crisis late in 1946. Unless it could raise $300,000 almost immediately, it would have to close half its wards, discontinue its ambulance service, and cut down on equipment and personnel. The newspaper *PM* and some radio commentators told New Yorkers about it, and contributions poured in for the full amount needed.

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By Christmas the Heifer Project Committee, sponsored by the Brethren Service Committee, had shipped 3,514 cattle. Principal destinations were France, Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Greece, and China.

* * *

Two new "liberal" political organizations have been formed in recent weeks. Principal difference seems to be that the Progressive Citizens of America, whose spokesman is Henry Wallace, will lend a friendly ear to proposals for aid and comfort from American Communists; the Union for Democratic Action, led by Leon Henderson, Wilson Wyatt, Eleanor Roosevelt, et al, bars Commies from membership or participation.

* * *

Some pacifists have formed a cooperative community project — Fellowship Cooperative Association—to be located on a 146-acre tract near Elmira, N. Y. They want members and/or financial help. Information from Cyril Nute, 728 Windsor Ave., Elmira, N. Y.

* * *

February 16-23 will be Brotherhood Week, if you are inclined to confine brotherhood to a week.

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Mr. and Mrs. Darrell Randall, working in the Belgian Congo, have found several FOR members and a number of prospective members.

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One result of Muriel Lester's current visit to China arrived in the mail the other day: an FOR Statement of Purpose in Chinese.

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The much-postponed trial of the Glendora strikers has been postponed again: from January 3 to sometime in mid-March.

* * *

A new Fellowship Church, with a congregation of both Christians and Jews, has been started in Philadelphia by the Fellowship House there. Services of distinctly Jewish character will be held Friday nights; Christian services on Sunday morning; and interfaith services Sunday afternoon. A. Herbert Haslam, Toledo Baptist minister and professor of religion at the University of Toledo, has resigned both positions to take charge. Marjorie Penney is director of Fellowship House.

Employment Opportunities

The Racial-Industrial Department of the FOR, in New York City, needs an office secretary. Write c/o Fellowship.

CO wanted for work in home conducted by Children's Court near Flint, Mich. Eight-hour day, $100 per month plus maintenance, opportunity for case work if desired. Write Mrs. Bennett, County Children's Detention Home, Flint, Mich.

Teacher, phys. ed., arts and crafts, some academic. B.A. required. Write Miss Smith, Vincent Smith School, Port Washington, L. I.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Protective Custody

Citizen 13660, by Mine Okubo. Columbia University Press, 1946. 209 pp. $2.75.

Mine Okubo is one of the American-born Japanese who felt the full brunt of wartime hysteria in the evacuation and subsequent internment of 100,000 persons whose only crime was their parentage. An artist of unusual talent, with degrees from the University of California, she was in Europe on a traveling fellowship in art when the war broke out. She returned to California for further study, and was there when the evacuation orders were issued.

Miss Okubo and her brother went through the whole experience: living for six months in a converted horse stall where "spiderwebs, horsehair and hay" had been hurriedly whitewashed with the walls, and linoleum hid the manure-covered floor; through the humor and pathos and tragedy of life in a relocation camp in the desert, surrounded by barbed wire and hostile suspicions. Always her sketch pad went with her, and the results are this book of drawings and brief supplementary text. The publisher's blurb says that the book "rises above personal bitterness," and it does. Objectivity, humor, pity are all there, but bitterness and self-pity are nowhere to be found.

A. H.

The Negro and America

American Daughter, by Era Bell Thompson. University of Chicago Press. 1946. 301 pp. $3.00.

Like Richard Wright in *Black Boy,* Era Bell Thompson has written an autobiographical sketch of a Negro. It is totally different in its effect, however, for during the first part of her life and through her college days, Miss Thompson lived in Iowa and North Dakota, where there were practically no other Negro people. The story does not unduly stress the color theme, although the fact of color can hardly be sidestepped. Era Bell Thompson was a curiosity to her white schoolmates rather than an object for discrimination. Later in YMCA's, in theaters, and in schools where the color line was drawn, trying experiences confronted her.

While this delightfully written book does no moralizing, the author makes it clear that there is trouble ahead and also that progress is being made slowly. She closes by saying: "The chasm (between the races) is growing narrower. When it closes, my feet shall be on a united America."

GEORGE M. HOUSER.

The Military Mentality

FELLOWSHIP readers who have not yet seen it will do well to beg, borrow or steal a copy of the December, 1946 issue of *Harper's Magazine* and read "Samples of the Army Mind," by Professor J. Frank Dobie. Dobie, who is the author of the current best-seller, *A Texan in England,* was a teacher in the GI university in England, and did other work in connection with the I and E (Information and Education) Division of the Army. His article is indirectly an extremely powerful argument against peacetime conscription and the infiltration of the military point of view into the schools and colleges. Sample: Dobie quotes a West Point Colonel in Germany, "This citizen army has a great deal higher IQ than the regular standing army. What we are hoping for is a stable force with the old-time low average in intellect. That kind makes better soldiers."

A.J.M.

Celestial Satire

Heavenly Discourse, by Charles E. S. Wood. Penguin Books, 1946. 252 pp. $.25.

The well-known satires, first published in *The Masses* during World War I, and for years available only by patient searching through second-hand bookshops, now are available in practically any drugstore for a quarter. There are those who will regard this as one of the major publishing events of 1946; there are others, even among FELLOWSHIP readers, for whom the superficial appearance of irreverence will obscure the profound reverence that underlies the book. The *Discourses* are conversations among various celestial personages, including God and Jesus and a multitude of ex-earthly performers, concerning a variety of the earth's problems, including, over and over again, the endlessly obscene and futile spectacle of war.

Correction

Quaker Anecdotes, published by Pendle Hill, was noted on this page last month as priced at 25 cents. The correct price is 50 cents.

For Communiteers

Community Service, Inc., located at Yellow Springs, Ohio, has published a "Directory of Some Persons Planning to Live in Small Communities." It was compiled by a CPS man, and includes many CPS-ers and other pacifists, as well as non-pacifists. A good way for cityphobes to meet their buddies. Published 1946, paper, $.25.

For Labor News and Views read the weekly

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HARPER & BROTHERS

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

French Pacifists and the War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Robert Root in his interesting and valuable article on "French Pacifists and the War" (FELLOWSHIP for December) asserts, understandably, that even some of the French pacifists themselves do not know how many refused war service. He quotes Henri Roser as saying that there were anarchists and other objectors, so that it is difficult to define who was imprisoned for religious objection; "ten to twenty" probably would cover it, according to him.

Solely because the historic facts may be important for the record, I would like to add a footnote to the effect that when I traveled through France in March and April, 1940, I was able to confer with pacifist leaders who had just completed an accurate survey.

My notes indicate that there were 58, of whom fewer than a dozen were in prison on grounds of strictly religious objections, though in a few instances there were mixed motives. The bulk of the objectors were pacifist anarchists, or in some instances, as they put it, humanitarians. We were advised at the time that more harm than good could be done by foreigners attempting to visit any of these pacifists, or it would be possible now to make even a more specific statement.

DEVERE ALLEN.
Wilton, Conn.

Economists at Loggerheads

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Some interested clinician, armed with a battery of devices for measuring blood pressure, temperature, and pulse and respiration rates ought to make a study of what happens when a man reads a book he disagrees with. We are all familiar with the symptoms in an empirical way. We begin to see double, words and statistics dance before our eyes, concepts stick in our gullets, innocent phrases take on new and sinister meanings, and the result is sure to be something like the review of *Inflation Is Coming* that appeared in December's FELLOWSHIP.

One of Mr. Morgan's first assertions is that its definitions don't make sense. I wish he had expanded that statement. I have carefully checked all the definitions in the book, and they do make sense to me. Mr. Morgan should have made allowance for Borsodi's exasperating habit of using English instead of Economese.

The book is also full of "statements that are certainly misleading if not wrong." Here, fortunately, your reviewer gets specific. "The currency revaluations Mr. Borsodi mentions," he says, "were not all the result of inflation in the usual sense of the word. The chief cause of currency depreciation was the depression and our attempt to get out of it by raising prices and stimulating exports." Now, just how did we try to raise prices? By inflating our currency. And how did we stimulate exports? Not by free trade; that would have stepped on the pet corns of too many vested interests. Instead, in order that nations which had debased their own currency might more easily obtain dollar exchange, we devalued the dollar, i.e., inflated our currency. Our currency revaluation was not, then, "the result of inflation." It was inflation. The New Dealer even had a word for it. He called it "reflation." Mr. Morgan too might profit by using English instead of Economese.

He also objects to Borsodi's charge that the government stole all the gold in the country "unless preventing people from obtaining unearned profits from a government act is stealing from them." But was not the act of devaluing the dollar in itself a kind of theft? And if, in order to prevent the holders of gold from profiting by this theft, the government had to pull a second swindle and confiscate all the gold, do the two swindles add up to justice?

Mr. Borsodi is also accused of "using the terms depression, inflation and mass unemployment interchangeably." This is simply not true; what he actually does is show the manner in which inflation, depression and unemployment have followed each other, always in the same dreary sequence, across the pages of our history. As for his dire prediction of runaway inflation, would anyone be brash enough to suggest that the Ides of March are gone?

Mr. Morgan is most unfair when he finds that Borsodi recommends speculation. What Borsodi does recommend is to invest in land, equipment, and education which will create a productive homestead. Only for families which are so wealthy that they can't improve their homesteads does he recommend anything which might faintly resemble speculation, i.e., investments in real estate, spot commodities, and stocks.

What of the moot question of family self-sufficiency? Mr. Morgan claims that this is unethical "because everyone couldn't do it." Who is this everyone? Is British socialism unethical because "everyone," for instance the Negroes of South Africa, can't do it?

His contention that those who aim at greater self-sufficiency "make it harder on the rest of society by ceasing to buy the goods and services that others want to sell" is equally absurd. Assuming for the moment that it is true, was man put on the earth in order to buy goods and services? Perhaps, in that case, we ought to give up trying to make ourselves healthier because then we could cease to buy the goods and services our multi-million dollar drug industry wants to sell!

But of course the charge is not true. We, for example, have just stopped sending our clothes to the laundry and bought a washing-machine. I defy anyone to prove that the American economy as a whole is any the worse off for this shift in consumption patterns. A family that produces its own eggs will have more cash to spend on books. It will also get more and better eggs for less money. Does more eggs plus more books add up to a lower standard of living? Nor is this "a form of nationalism on an individual or family scale." Any family in any reasonably free country can try it, and there is no reason, except interference by politicians, why enclaves of economic rent or cooperatives of any kind could not be formed with complete disregard for national boundaries. This is true internationalism as opposed to the ersatz internationalism of the Keynesians and Fabians, who attempt to force all economic enterprises to conform to the Procrustean bed of the state.

I should like to remind Mr. Morgan that the country, lovely as it is, is not out of this world. Anyone who moves there soon comes to realize that the world is just as much with him there as anywhere. His life, in fact, is even more intimately enmeshed with that of his fellows than it was when he was merely the denizen of Apt. 3B. The difference is that you can get a saner perspective on the world from, say, the foothills of the Rockies than from the rear platform of a West Side Subway car. Particularly during the rush hour.

SELMA VON HADEN,
Vista, Cal.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I received a copy of *Inflation Is Coming* just a week before reading James Morgan's review of it in FELLOWSHIP for December. I don't admit to being an economist and I am having a bad time with these gentlemen. Mr. Morgan finds the book refreshing, stimulating, and even annoying, but I can't tell from his review which parts of the Borsodi teachings I should take to heart and what I should throw away.

Mr. Morgan's feeling that Borsodi's advice is unethical in helping people toward independence is interesting and I should like to hear more of it, although I think he might have some trouble with Jefferson and Isaiah as well as with Ralph Borsodi. First he would need to prove that the independent man is worth less to his country than the dependent one—a difficult task, especially if any of Borsodi's ideas on inflation and crisis are correct. But this is the question the whole discussion turns on: can a real crisis in inflation be avoided with five to eight times as much money in circulation as in 1929, as well as tremendously increased issues of government bonds? I'd like to know. Governments are more powerful than ever today. They can come nearer rigging prices than ever before. I can see that Mr. Morgan does not expect runaway inflation. I should like to have his reasons.

WESLEY SMITH,
Portland, Ore.

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